



If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

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TO ALL REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS!

The very special circumstances in which the Spanish war of invasion is being waged forces us to make a new call to all revolutionary organizations of the world. The enemy is attacking us to-day as they never attacked us since the beginning of the struggle. The best and most modern war material, expert technicians and best trained soldiery of Italy and Germany have been thrown against us by international fascism on all the fronts of the war. It appears that imperialistic capitalism is interested in liquidating our resistance immediately because its efforts in sending men and material have been multiplied lately all over fascist Spain.

In view of this, our position is delicate. But not delicate enough to satisfy the desires of international reaction which day by day "buries us" in the "grave" of defeat; not so much as is being claimed by the fascist, press of Europe and America, which is stubbornly urging the defense of some political principles and economic privileges that are based on the social degradation of men. Our predicament is far from being as serious as the world "democracies", humble and submissive to fascism, will take for granted, but, why should we deny it? The present situation of our struggle is serious and it will be more serious in the near future if those who are called to prevent it do not do so by resolute action.

The pressure of the Spanish reality forces us to write plainly. Besides, the generous contribution of our people to the ideals of civil redemption of the world demands from us the harsh investigation and designation of a guilt. The Spanish proletariat, which gives its blood for a cause which it considers to be common to the workers of all countries, begins to doubt the solidarity that has been blazoned with horns and drums. And such a doubt, were it to become general and make its way through the toiling masses of Spain, would be fatal in these moments when the enemy is striving to decide the issue.

We must recognize with dignity that until to-day your help in the struggle has been little short of naught. It has been limited to the innocent verbal condemnation of the wholesale atrocities perpetrated on us by the fascists. Both from the press and from the rostrum you have been attacking the dictators merely with adjectives. And meanwhile, Hitler and Mussolini took advantage of the time you did not know how to use. In the early days of the military sedition, they were eager to use every opportunity to further their interests of caste and kind. They did not hesitate. The significance of the moment did not allow the adoption of suicidal positions. They rushed to help Franco with all the means required to carry on the fight. What was being done, meanwhile, by the labour organizations of the world? Little or nothing. It is painful to confess this and, perhaps, terrible to admit it. But the tragedy which affects all Spaniards and the revolutionary morale does not permit hurtful secretiveness.

We have not the least intention of annoying anyone with our words. We are guided by one purpose alone—our eagerness to declare and remedy wrongs!

The difficult days that are near will not be overcome by us if international anti-fascism continues the methods which rendered its labours fruitless. Our soldiers and our people are not now satisfied with your praises of their heroism, your tins of condensed milk and the other thousands of proofs of solidarity which they will never forget. They want to see you decided to cut out reaction with your determined and radical action. Fascist soldiery is not self-sufficient. It derives nourishment from abroad. By cutting off those resources their "civilizing" legions will soon be paralyzed. In what manner, by what means, should the work be carried out from now on? . . .

As events in Spain have developed up to now there is only one efficient way:—**DIRECT REVOLUTIONARY ACTION.** That is: sabotage and boycott. **SABOTAGE** for the petroleum, coal, iron, wheat and rubber which both Italy and Germany purchase from foreign markets. **BOYCOTT** to whatever merchandise is being exported by international fascism. The Italo-German aeroplanes and tanks which ruin us cannot be destroyed with the flaming speeches reproduced in distributed pamphlets. The murderers who encamp on our land and are menacing the whole world laugh at all that; they pay no attention to such inoffensive protests. The regimes which are based on force can only be crushed by revolutionary violence. There is no other solution. Such are, at least, the teachings of history which are being fortified by facts developed here.

The Lamps Grow Dim

The lamps are going out again
They may not gleam tomorrow,
Desperate hands that cup their flame
Will wring with ancient sorrow.

For Europe's fallow fields are wet
With rain for early sowing,
Yet wheat or rye may never bronze
So keen a wind is glowing.

The ribboned tread of marching feet
Disputes the hawthorn maying,
And lads who should be ailing sons
Are marked for early slaying.

The lamps are going out again
And Spanish blood is crying,
My scarlet towns and hills have seen
The lights of freedom dying.

J. HORACE LOSH

We repeat that the situation is serious. And the seriousness of the situation demands from the labour movement of our continent efficient measures against fascism which wages war on us while preparing to spread it all over the world. It demands, in the meantime, that the material support be redoubled and intensified. We are short of food and clothing. We are in urgent need of fuel and means of transport. What we have is insufficient

to satisfy our needs, and, as this material is wearing out, it will soon become useless. Send us lorries, coal, gasoline. In time of war a truck is as valuable as a machine gun.

Another of the problems that are worrying us now is that of the refugees. While the struggle extends to Catalonian territory, the problem becomes greater. The population of already populated towns and cities is increasing by leaps and bounds, creating for us a multitude of difficulties. This also represents great danger. The rear guard is a favorite objective for the fascist air forces. Remember the latest onslaughts against Valencia and Barcelona and the recent attacks against the Castellon and, after that, think of the consequences of new bombardments over densely populated zones. We must save our women, children and aged from the terrible fascist onslaughts. We must prevent the slaughterers in Franco's service from attacking those non-combatants who seem to be their favorite targets. For this, however, you must increase every activity on behalf of the Spanish refugees. Every worker's home must give shelter to a refugee, regardless of how distant he may be from the scene of the struggle. It is a debt of Europe to Spain and we hope it will be duly honored.

Although it is unnecessary, we wish you to know that we have an invincible faith in the final victory of the Spanish people. We will fight fascism, at home and abroad, with an increasing courage, more firmly than ever. If your help does not fail us, if your cooperation increases in the right direction, we shall crush the traitors who rose against the popular liberties, whether Hitler and Mussolini like it or not.

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA.

Mr. Roosevelt's Battle-Wagons

Great interest has been aroused among the working people of this country in regard to the President's super-navy and its purposes, alleged and otherwise. For the first time in years, there is a healthy and growing suspicion in large sections of the working class that something is rotten in Denmark. The American workers no longer swallow without question the assorted baloney Mr. Roosevelt attempts to feed them; we must not fail to notice, though, that quite a number still believe this tremendous armament campaign is intended for their "defense".

In their drive to mobilize war sentiment, the forces of the Administration, from Roosevelt on the left to Browder on the extreme right, have cooked up a few dozen spy scares, invasion plans and air raid drills (such as the recent one on Long Island, N. Y.). They know from experience that the creation of a mass fear psychology is the first step toward creation of nationalist hatred for another race. Recognizing that the successful creation of "invasion fear" will serve as the stepping-stone to an ever increasing orgy of national-patriotism and preparation for direct military action, we must do all in our power to expose the mess of lies masquerading as "national defense".

Since we have been showered with "facts" about the "inadequate" fleet we have, it will be well to compare it with the navies of those countries who are supposedly intent on our destruction. According to the New York TIMES, the total tonnage figures on underage ships, present and proposed, are as follows:

| | |
|----------------|-----------|
| JAPAN | 749,417 |
| GERMANY | 408,897 |
| ITALY | 501,196 |
| COMBINED TOTAL | 1,659,510 |
| UNITED STATES | 1,181,895 |

Now, without drawing any immediate conclusions from this, let's look at a map and see what a nice trip our "invaders" will have. Here is the story:

DISTANCE IN MILES FROM:
Bremen to New York — 3,500, with no refueling or repair bases between.

Italy to New York — 5,000, no bases.
Yokohama to San Francisco — 4,768.
Yokohama to Panama Canal — 8,090.
Nearest Japanese possession — 4,000 miles from U. S. A., no repair or refueling base.

It is easy to see that no power or combination of powers contemplates an attack on the U. S. within a period of several years, even granting that they could find an economic reason for such action, which they cannot. Even so, where is the bright persons who would care to step up to the head of the class and tell us what nation can afford to leave its home

ports wholly or partly unprotected while engaging in a gamble of that nature?

In addition to the blunt declarations of Secretary Hull and Roosevelt that the increase in our battle-wagon brigade is intended for the protection of American capitalist interests in South America and the Orient, we have the testimony of such naval experts as Admiral Leahy and Major General Rivers. They have stated that the present navy is easily large enough to handle the defense of the United States proper against any possible attacking fleet.

From these facts it is plain that the big navy is not intended for defense, and will never be used for defense; rather, it has for its purpose the backing up by capitalist force of the interests of American capital in both hemispheres, as proposed by Mr. Roosevelt in his "quarantine the aggressor" speech in Chicago.

Some there are, who, in the face of plain economic truths, continue to insist in an assinine manner that the military might of the United States will be used in the defense of the Comintern's "collective security" myth. With serious faces, Moscow's stooges in this country tell us that it is not only possible, but dead certain that our greedy capitalist state is going to sacrifice itself in the struggle for the cause of mankind while generously disregarding its own economic interests and entanglements!

Yes, there are those who believe the capitalist parliamentary states will fight to the death against their capitalist autocratic blood-brothers. Yet there stand the whole kit and kaboodle of them, fascist and "democratic", leaning against one another for support like a block of crumbling tenement houses.

Roosevelt and Browder may stay up nights working out all the plans in the universe to bamboozle the working class into supporting another senseless war to "save democracy"—but in spite of all their petty conspiracies, time rushes on toward the ultimate, inevitable conflict not "democracy against fascism", but the people of the world against the governments of the world.

Clifton Nothridge Bennett

Spain is a living example for the working class of the world. The Spanish workers, after painful trials, are demonstrating their capacity to fight fiercely in the trenches and methodically run the industries at home. The experiment has been costly but the workers of other countries have advanced to this extent whenever they may decide to fall in line for the final battle.

The workers are fully capable of running the industries and taking good care of all they create.

—CNT—FAI INFORMATION BULLETIN.

THE PRESS THAT DEFENDS FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

THE DUTY OF LIBERTY-LOVING CITIZENS

In Los Angeles lives Marcus Graham, the editor of an intellectual monthly newspaper called "Man." For 19 years he has been hounded by petty government officials who have sought to deport him on the ground that he was illegally admitted to the United States. It is openly charged that the persecution of Graham is a covert attempt to kill his newspaper, "Man" because of its "radical" utterances. If this is true, then it becomes the duty of all Americans to protest against this attack upon the Freedom of the Press. Not for an hour should any liberty-loving citizen submit without protest to any attempt to strangle the right of free thought and the free expression of thought. —HUMANITY, May, 1938

A TYPICAL CASE OF AMERICA

Although this is one of the most typical cases, the case of Marcus Graham does not stand alone, as everyone knows who regularly receives the communications of the American Civil Liberties Union. The country that legally murdered Sacco and Vanzetti, that has not even yet extended justice to Mooney and Billings, that continues to tolerate the atrocious lynchings as well as the pro-fascist conditions in the South, has surely no right at all to admonish the fascist states as it has done by the mouth of its President. And those among the "liberal" Americans, who are so ardent to eradicate fascism in Europe, would do better to direct their special attention to their own country. It is more practical and will prevent hundreds of thousands being sacrificed for a useless cause.

—INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST BUREAU

THE MARCUS GRAHAM CASE

After last week's official manifestation in favor of the freedom of thought, speech, and press, we have a good opportunity to speak about Marcus Graham's case.

Graham was arrested for the first time in 1919. Following an inquest and consideration, though found undesirable on account of his political and social ideas, he could not be deported for the reason that no government wanted to accept him.

The compatibility of this law which institutes the inquisition of thought and excludes from the territory of the United States persons who profess proscribed ideas, with the stand taken by the officials in favor of the freedom of thought and speech constitutes a peculiar problem. Indeed, according to this law in question, Thomas Paine, who was an immigrant, would have been subject to deportation.

Graham was tolerated from 1919 to 1938, however not without any trouble; but he would have remained undisturbed, free to come and go according to his fancy, if from time to time the manifestations of his—proscribed—thoughts had not attracted upon him the attention of authority. It is so that in 1930 he was arrested because he had compiled "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" for the defense and interest of the public. And in 1937 he was again arrested for the reason that he was publishing "MAN!" which has the misfortune of lodging displeased thoughts.

Consequently it is not the person of Marcus Graham who is found undesirable by the United States, but his ideas; and during twenty years they have tolerated his person and persecuted his thought even when expressed in a carefully edited volume containing poems written by others with many of them a century old.

The persecution and denial of the freedom of thought, speech and press could not be better illustrated and evident than in this case. In 1930 they tried to strike him in his work as editor. In 1937-38 they hit him in his work as journalist.

To-day there is a judge in Los Angeles who has sentenced him to six months imprisonment for contempt of Court. Graham refused to give to the authorities the information required by them.

In admitting that this constitutes a crime—a fact denied by the lawyers—and that it is his position to give the information—a thing which no one but himself can positively affirm—it would nevertheless be a crime committed twenty years ago, a crime which ought to have been dropped, since Graham repeats to-day what he said in 1919.

Therefore it seems evident that the accusation, sentence and even crime are nothing else but expedients to strike Graham, not in his person, to whom the slightest infraction of the law can be made, but in his ideas and freedom to express them by means of speech and press.

How are we to conciliate these irritating persecutions with the speech of the Supreme Court for the defense of the freedom of the press, with the words of the New York State Governor in the defense of the freedom of thought?

—L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI

THE CONSTITUTION AND JUDGE YANKWICH

I spent three hours today studying three sample copies of Man, monthly paper of Los Angeles, to find out how, under our laws and Constitution, its editor, Marcus Graham, can be punished with six months' imprisonment. Graham is an idealist professing Philosophical Anarchism, and as such challenges the right of any government to control his thinking and writing. He also is a vegetarian who like Gandhi does not believe "even in the killing of animals". Admittedly an alien, Comrade Graham refuses to tell where he was born—that being nobody's business—while the Constitution says that "no person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Nineteen years ago there was issued a warrant for his deportation to Canada, but it was not executed, since Canada could find no evidence of his citizenship there, and the warrant became "functus officio", out of office and no longer effective. He, this year has been tried before a shifty judge, who held his refusal to name his birthday to be criminal contempt, but that the consti-

PROTESTS INCREASE

If the Labor Department and the pseudo-liberal Judge Leon R. Yankwich imagined for one moment that their concerted unlawful and lawful moves to effect the exiling of Marcus Graham, editor of MAN!, upon an admittedly invalid 19 year-old deportation warrant will go by unchallenged, then it is about time that they should realize their blunder. MAN! has already presented some of the comments of the press in the United States as well as from abroad, as it has also printed protests from individuals. On this page now is presented some of the additional protests that have been made editorially by that part of the press that truly values the Freedom of the Press concept which is the sole issue in this case.

The Philadelphia Record of April 8, 1938 and the New York Post of April 13, 1938 printed an editorial entitled "Abuse of Deportation Laws" in which the Graham case is being cited as the first example of abused cases. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch printed on April 20, 1938 a complete story of the entire Graham case, pointing out the arbitrary ruling of Judge Yankwich. The Baltimore Sun printed an editorial on the case on April 22, 1938. Solidarity, the organ of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the U. S. A., devoted close to two pages on the case in its May issue. Unity of Chicago printed an outline of the case in its issue of May 2, 1938. The International Anti-Militarist Bureau gave a lengthy account of the case in its issue of May 23, 1938, and from which is printed an excerpt on this page. The Worker's Monthly of England and the Workers' Free Press of Scotland printed accounts of the case in their recent issues.

The briefs in the appeal against the six months' imprisonment sentence imposed upon Graham for refusing to testify against himself have been filed with the Ninth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals at San Francisco, California, by attorneys L. B. Stanton and A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union.

We are determined on making known this case in every nook and corner of this country as well as throughout the world. And in this task, every individual who values Freedom of Thought and the Freedom of its Expression, can render us invaluable assistance. If you have not as yet forwarded any protests to the Secretary of Labor, Miss Frances Perkins, Washington, D. C., demanding the immediate cancellation of the 19 year-old warrant of deportation under which Marcus Graham has already been jailed five consecutive times, you should do so at once. Interest other individuals and organizations to forward protests to the aforementioned place. Send copies of your protests to the daily and to the liberal press, as also to our Committee.

All plans for a nation-wide series of protest meetings for this coming fall are in progress of preparation. We invite the cooperation of every individual and organization that value the battle we are waging in behalf of Freedom of Thought.

The contemplated pamphlet "Defenders of the Freedom of Thought Throughout the Ages" is soon to materialize. Additional funds are urgently needed to make possible its immediate publication. All donors will receive as many copies of the printed pamphlet as they may wish to dispose of.

In order to carry through the fight for the dismissal of the deportation proceedings against Graham to a successful end, which, in turn, would imply a true victory for the Freedom of the Press, we need your moral as well as material support.

Do not fail to render us this support!

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE

PRESS COMMITTEE

P. O. BOX 971, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., U. S. A.

tutional provision cannot save him because this offense is a civil one! He was sentenced on January 14.

Graham was first arrested in Paterson, N. J., in 1919, and since then has seen the inside of as many jails as Herr Most or Emma Goldman ever got into. The last punishment he has escaped—that of his brother-philosophicals Sacco and Vanzetti hanged by a Massachusetts judge now dead; so that the judge hath no preeminence over his victims. However, it is the tradition, attested and supported with instances by the late C. L. James, that unjust judges presiding in such cases, do not long survive from Gary who, sentenced the Chicago group, to Thayer who sent Sacco and Vanzetti to the gallows.

—G. E. M. in the TRUTH SEEKER

FURTHER COMMENT ON THE GRAHAM CASE

The observation by G. E. M. in the issue of May 1st on the jailing of Marcus Graham for "contempt of court" has drawn a protest from Federal Judge Leon R. Yankwich of the Southern District of California. Judge Yankwich writes in part:

A deliberate attempt has been made to twist the Graham case, which involves merely the right of a sovereign nation to determine who shall be within its borders and the right

to compel an alien to give information concerning his right to be within the United States, into a free speech question . . . If you will take the trouble to read the opinion filed by me, which is reported at 22 Federal Supplement 149, and which you may obtain at a law library, you will see that a sentence of contempt was imposed on Graham not because he was and is an avowed anarchist, but because he, an alien, declined to answer questions concerning his right to be in the United States. This was in violation of a law which gives immigration authorities the power to demand such answers, and gives federal judges the right to compel such answers, and punish disobedience by contempt. The law which denies anarchists the right to enter the United States was enacted by the Congress, not by me. The Supreme Court has held it constitutional.

In a letter to Judge Yankwich, dated May 23rd, the author of the protested Observation replied:

In answer to yours of May 14, I would say that if as you charge "a deliberate attempt has been made to twist the Graham case . . . into a free speech case", I do not imagine that enough torsion was employed in the act really to shift it far from its foundation in the aim to suppress Mr. Graham's paper and to put him in jail. I have read on this case only what has appeared in Man, including your opinion, from all of which it appeared plain that the case against Mr. Graham as an alien has gone out of office for want of pressing within a reasonable length of time, and it appeared to me that the court proceedings flouted the Constitution by requiring him to be a witness against himself. Your "right of a sovereign nation" in such cases "to compel an alien to give information," etc., cannot be based on the nation's Constitution as we read it; and again, under the Constitution, the "sovereignty" may at times inhere more in the individual than in the Congress passing laws against liberty of opinion for aliens on our shores.

I have observed free speech and press trials from my youth on up, which means at least sixty years, and the proceedings have done much to impair my confidence in courts. Moreover, signed as members of the Graham defense committee are seen names long familiar as those of free speech defenders, who cannot all have been taken in by this cause, even if I am by his report of the facts. Observe Stephen T. Byington, who is probably as old as I am and with a history like mine, or better, as a defender of rights reserved to individuals by the Constitution.

If freedom of speech and press has not been at the root of this prosecution, the case for alienism against Graham, that failed long ago, would never have been revived in your court. Has he ever been sentenced to deportation or been given a jail sentence as a convicted alien? I don't recall. Has he been jailed for his opinions? or for expressing them? Many times. What then is the justified conclusion in the present case? It was a kind of blasphemy trial and conviction.

THE PERSECUTION OF MARCUS GRAHAM AND "MAN!" MUST STOP

For nineteen years now, Marcus Graham, editor of the anarchist journal Man! has been the object of repeated attacks by the United States government. Under the "liberal" Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, this attack has been intensified in an attempt to deport Graham. At present Marcus Graham is out on bail pending an appeal on his six months jail sentence for contempt of court for refusing to testify against himself. The persecution of Graham is a deliberate and undisguised attack against Man!. Previously, an attempt was made to deport the two anti-Fascists, Ferrero and Sallitto to Italy—the underlying reason being that they rented space in their restaurant to Man!.

This frontal attack against freedom of the press must be squelched now. To allow it to succeed is to pave the way for deeper inroads and the wholesale deportation of foreign born. And, until the deportation proceedings against Marcus Graham are dismissed, we must raise our voice in the most vigorous protest. The Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee has been formed with the leading figures in the progressive social life of America. The Vanguard urges everyone of its readers to give all aid to this committee, especially by sending in badly needed funds to enable it to carry on its work.

—VANGUARD, APRIL 1938

THE GRAHAM CASE

Most of the public, who gain what information they possess by reading the headlines in the daily papers, are unaware that an attempt is being made to deport Marcus Graham, editor of "Man", an anarchist paper published in Los Angeles. The information they gain from the headlines is that Graham is a dangerous "anarchist" who is fighting deportation because, ostensibly, he must have committed some overt act in his native country that makes him averse to returning. But what they do not learn from the headlines is that Graham, far from being a hydra-headed monster, spewing red hot log chains and exhaling his unholy breath in a sanctified and pure atmosphere, is a very mild mannered man, a scholar and a poet, whose main reasons for fighting deportation is because he wants to stay where he is at. An easily understandable reason that even you or I might entertain and cause us to be visibly perturbed or even cause our ire to be raised if a policeman should suddenly appear at our back door and ask us to "go home."

Marcus Graham has been detained by immigration authorities a number of times, but the proceedings have always fell flat, because no proof could be advanced as to why he should be deported, except that he entertained a social philosophy.

*G. E. M. is editor emeritus of the Truth Seeker, and has recently joined as a member of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. —EDITOR

HOW TO COMBAT FASCISM-NAZISM

The history of mankind is a grim tale. In all her stepping stages man had to face the horrors of intolerable persecution by one despotism or another. One tyranny came, another went, and always, without exception, a victimized class of people was made to carry the brunt of its tyrannical rule—whether it be barbarism, monarchism, capitalism or even so-called democratic parliamentarism.

In the latest march of man's destiny, a Fascist-Nazi despotism has arisen which threatens to surpass in cruelty, barbarity and intolerance all tyrannies that have left their mark on suffering humanity. In its moral deterioration there is almost no parallel; for even in the days of "gladiatorial combats" we are reminded that sometimes a Caesar would heed the call for pity to a wounded man, if he caught the fancy of the spectators. These modern bloodhounds are too depraved in mind and too sick in body to hear the pitiful cries of victims that lie crushed under their iron boots.

And just as human dignity in former days has risen against barbaric outrages, resulting from time to time in uprisings and bloody combats against tyranny and oppression, it is the solemn duty of liberty-loving people of today to carry on the battle against this organized banditry, known as Fascism and Nazism. It is a question of life and death for all those whose human dignity would not permit to fall under the heels of despotic rulers.

The struggle against this modern form of tyranny must be waged on many fronts and, in some instances, with the same type of weapons as it aims to destroy the human race. Beastly Fascism is not content with its political and economic domination within her own borders; it wants to spread its beastly rule over people far and wide over the globe. Therefore, let us map out the major fields where Fascism-Nazism concentrates its vicious attacks so we could effectively organize our resistance; these are:

- (1) *Armed Force.*
- (2) *Economic Boycotting of Non-Aryans.*
- (3) *Distortion of Political Ideas.*
- (4) *Racial Persecution.*
- (5) *Destruction of Culture.*

Now that we have outlined more or less the various paths upon which Fascism leads its deadly march we can face the enemy on its own grounds and meet the assaults from whichever direction it strikes. Our answer should be blow for blow, with no quarter asked or given. We shall strike back with the fury in defense of our freedom at the attacks that aim to take it from us.

The battle is on. The deck is clear. Let us now prepare to face the enemy on the fronts where the attacks are planned: these are:

- (1) *Armed Force.*

Against this barbaric method of clubbing people into submission the Spanish workers have shown the way; they have taught the wanton enemy a lesson it shall never forget. Just think for one moment: a relatively small group of idealists, cramped together on a narrow strip of isolated territory—Catalonia and Valencia—, courage and idealism being their only weapons, are holding off a modernized and well-equipped army sent upon them by the two strongest powers in the military field of today. They just refuse to be defeated regardless of

sophy that was not in accordance with the established social ethics of the powers that be. True, he is a self-confessed anarchist, that is plenty bad to the average man or woman, whose social ideas are kept in conventional bounds by newspaper headlines. However, one must commit some specific overt act to be a criminal; he cannot be railroaded and shanghaied to places he does not want to go for thinking. Thomas Jefferson, the "petty god of the bourgeoisie," said that thinking, writing or speaking did not constitute treason; that some physical act had to be committed. If we were sent to jail for our thoughts, the back cell would have become a rendezvous of our "best families", and few would have escaped the taint of the "jail bird".

For the past year or so I have read every issue of "Man", the anarchist publication edited by Graham and published here in Los Angeles. I have yet to locate a sentiment or statement from which could by any hook or crook be deduced a reason for deportation. For the most part the publication consists of scholarly essays on current events, history and economics that I have read with interest and a great deal of pleasure, and with the sentiments of which I was more than frequently in agreement with. You do not have to be in accord with a man's social belief in order to agree with him on fundamental questions, otherwise we would be divided into irreconcilable camps bound by our economic or social philosophies, and not brothers in the big family of society in which we must all take a part.

The Graham case, and the ill-favored publicity it has given the attitude of the United States immigration authorities has even attracted attention in Europe. I recently noticed a criticism in "L'en Dehors," an interesting liberal publication issued at Orleans, France. Citing the salient factors in the case, the editor, El. Armand, a well known French liberal author, facetiously heads the article, "In the Land of Roosevelt."

The Civil Liberties Union, a consistent friend of those whose civil liberties are at stake, has taken up the battle for Graham, aided by the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. Funds are being raised to carry the Graham case to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. An appeal is being made for funds and about \$100 will be needed for this purpose. The address is Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, Box 971, Los Angeles.

—Walter Pannell in WELCOME NEWS, May 1938

sacrifice. And if ever a day shall come when these noble martyrs will be forced to surrender to the overwhelming legions pitted against them by Hitler and Mussolini, their heroic stand will become a legend for future generations. Their martyrdom for the cause of freedom will serve as a symbolic threat to the whole reactionary world that where people want freedom, brute force cannot vanquish them with impunity. This courage and sacrifice displayed by our Spanish comrades shall be followed by all lovers of freedom wherever the Fascist beast dares to encroach with its autocratic rule.

It might be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention here to advocate militarism as a panacea for freedom and security, but a revolutionary counter-offensive against any attempt of subjugating people by brute force.

(2) *Economic Boycotting of a People.*

Besides the political and economic oppression to which anti-Fascists elements are subjected, Fascism—especially that of Hitler's brand—has inaugurated a vicious campaign to deprive a non-Aryan class of people—the Jews—from all means of livelihood. If Hitlerized Germany, through selfish motives, finds it convenient to declare an economic boycott upon a race on the grounds that these people are of non-Aryan parentage, the liberal world should retaliate with a boycott on goods manufactured and produced in the Reich. It isn't a question of one particular people being outclassed by the Hitler regime; the whole Hitler ideology has grown up on the weeds of "nationalistic" self-sufficiency, making it politically obligatory upon him to pursue this ruthless policy of extermination on all non-Aryan elements—be they of whatever creed or heritage.

A universal boycott against the Reich is therefore the only answer that could be given in retaliation for the economic ills inflicted upon people of other races or color. True, this method of dealing with a foe is most barbaric as it is inhuman, for a boycott on German commodities inevitably would bring suffering and privation to innocent German families who themselves might be victims of Fascism-Nazism; it is therefore up to the people of Germany to rise up against Nazism. For, we can't imagine intelligent human beings advocating and approving the slaughter of other human beings. As long as a band of ignorant and beastly morons fall upon us in a mad rush to cut our throats, could we stand by and let them spill our blood without offering resistance? Certainly not. To exterminate human beings by means of starvation is just as cruel and barbaric as to slaughter them on the field of battle; hence, there is no other alternative left but to adopt the same cruel tactics when dealing with a malicious and cruel enemy.

(3) *Distortion of Political Ideas.*

Misrepresenting political ideas from the founders of socialism is common practice by the expounders of Fascism. German "nazism" in particular, openly and shamefully envelopes itself in a cloak of "national socialism". Parading under the guise of semi-socialistic doctrines they have succeeded in rallying to its filthy banner most of the working class in Italy and Germany.

To combat this false and misleading distortion of truth the advocates of political freedom must organize an extensive campaign for propagating the true socialism—which tends to liberate rather than enslave the oppressed masses. A battle of words must ring out through the world. It isn't enough that we preach our doctrines in territories where fascism has not yet taken root. A way must be found whereby we could reach the deceived masses on grounds where fascism is already firmly entrenched. There, from underground perhaps, we must speak to the enslaved workers; they must be convinced by direct propaganda—oral or written—how they have been misled by falsified ideas. It's been done in the past. The Russian revolution would never have come had it not been for those brave idealists whom no gallows, nor Siberia frightened from going "to the people", until

the day came for Russia to see the Dawn of liberation (that the ideals of those brave martyrs were betrayed is another story . . .). As a matter of fact, no progressive idea has ever come to be realized without sacrifice. Therefore, it is the duty of all progressive and revolutionary movements to carry on a strong revolutionary propaganda, bringing the working class in Fascist countries to the realization that only in a free social order can they hope to live in freedom and security.

(4) *Racial Persecution.*

In reality the theory of higher or lower blood raciality suggests very much a burlesque skit. Seriously though, we know that neither science nor experience has anything to show that there exists superiority or inferiority complexes in racialism. As a matter of historical record all races (Caucasian) are more or less mixed, substantiating the obvious fact that no race can scientifically be classed either as a primary or secondary race. Some ethnologists even suggest that the basis of Nordic and Mongolian races is an "Aryan" type. However, such argument can have its merits among people of culture and reason. But what can we do with a morbid caste of charlatans like the Hitlers and Goerings, who have nothing but scorn for science and reason? What can we do with a clique that rides on the ignorance of people with the showmanship of a clown? It would be foolish to argue with a Nazi or a Fascist just as it would be ridiculous to reason with a turtle. Would a more effective and undoubtedly convincing argument be to counter-attack this crazy notion of race superiority with the same scenery and electrical affects as it is presented on the Nazi stage? Should we come out with a sort of matter-of-fact declaration that only OUR race is the salt of the earth, and that any other race having the impudence of being blond is of very low physical and mental origin and should therefore be treated as a degrading race?

No! We should leave the methods of idiocy to the idiots, and only resort to the searchlight of exposing their idiocies.

(5) *Destruction of Culture.*

Whether or not civilization will suffer by Fascism's antics is a matter for future record. Nevertheless we cannot look with complete indifference to the destruction of cultural treasures by Fascist swine. It is no secret that the finest works of the most brilliant minds are being trampled under foot—especially so in Nazi Germany. And, like the swine they really are, the Nazis do not resort to intelligent discourse that would at least atone for their ignorance. They simply gather up the books of all thinkers that do not fit in with their raw conception of a cave-era philosophy and throw them to the flames. All criticism heaped upon them for this kind of rowdiness is simply wasted. They pay as much attention to intelligent rebuff as a gorilla would to a chapter of Emily Post. . . .

A more suitable way of dealing with such an irrational caste would be to let them swallow their own pills. In other words, we ought to gather up such books as Mein Kampf, and other works of this calibre produced by their Fascist authors, and make a nice big bon-fire somewhere in an open square in New York or Paris, and watch gleefully how the Nazi culture is blazing away with the flames. It would prove to the Nazis that intolerance is a two-folded sword.

Those retaliatory tactics ought to be pursued by a solidified anti-fascist union—regardless of political views or differences. Concretely it would smash the Fascist plague with weapons of its own making; effectively, a direct counter offensive on all fields of combat should eventually penetrate the minds of the misled followers of fascist ideology. It must, and will, serve as an object lesson to all ambitious tyrants that the progressive world is forever ready to defend human rights and human freedom at all costs.

Samuel Polinow

On The Block

◆ Well, folks, did you hear how Selassie appealed to the League of Nations for justice? Poor Soul. If he'd ask us we'd send him back to the jungle; he'd surely find more justice among his leopards there. . . .

◆ We are informed that 15,000 applauded the burning of non-Aryan books in Nazified Austria.

Why shouldn't they applaud? Most likely none of the applauders read them anyway. . . .

◆ T'is said Mussolini is very much chagrined at being named "aggressor" by some American statesman.

We don't blame him. A man that only murders for the fun of it shouldn't be called aggressor. It ain't fair. . . .

◆ And speaking of aggression, remember what a beautiful speech President Roosevelt made about quarantining aggressor nations? He didn't do it, of course; but you must admit it was a beautiful speech. . . .

◆ We have some very sad news for you. Our Santa suddenly took a crazy notion to turn poet. The story is this: He got so fascinated by the bravery of Franco's Moors that he was moved by the spirits to present them with a poetic laudation. As far as we know it's his first offense; so please forgive him. Here it is, folks:

THE CHARGE OF THE DARK BRIGADE (With apologies to Tennyson)

Forward, Forward, you my bravest
Of Morocco's Dark Brigades,
Charge up'n the Spanish rabble
That our castles dare invade.
Crush the common peasants sons
Who infest our noble land,

Pierce the bellies of their daughters
Who ne'er kiss a Noble's hand.

On the Spanish bloody highways,
—In muddy cave or mountain crest—
Weeping mothers lay prostrate,
Clutching babies to their breast.

And the Moors of Franco's legion,
Killers all for pay and sack,
Flashed with sabre in the air,
Galloped for the brave attack.

They charged up'n a helpless heap
Of human flesh in peaceful sleep,
Slaughtered all that couldn't war,
Like the brave they really are.

Age and youth trampled under
Braying steeds by Heroes manned,
To spear, to crush-not to wonder
Was the order, the command.

Mothers to the right of them,
Children to the left of them,
Rape and death in front of them.

Honor the Dark Brigade,
Noble bandits of venal trade.

◆ It is said Hitler got a royal welcome on his visit to Rome.

That's nothing compared to the c-r-o-w-n-i-n-g he'd get on a visit to Flatbush (N. Y. C.)

◆ What's the matter with those scientists in Hitlerland; couldn't they invent some erzats that would change Hell to Helium?

Santa-Panta

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

HAGUE AND TOWNSEND, FASCISM AND ROOSEVELT

The liberal elements of the country were much elated over the pardoning of Dr. Townsend, of old-pension fame, from his 30 days contempt sentence by President Roosevelt. Is it not strange though that not a single voice of those who had praised the act of Roosevelt were willing to ask the appropriate question as to why President Roosevelt has not made a single move to bring about the liberation of Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney? Legally speaking President Roosevelt may not be in a position to pardon the two martyrs of labor. But the least he might have done is to raise his voice in their behalf.

The case of Frank Hague reveals even more strikingly the fact that President Roosevelt, for all his professed liberalism, is still the same sort of Tammany Hall politician that the name has come to denote in American politics—and whence from he started on his career.

No one can doubt any longer that what we are witnessing in Jersey City is but a miniature reproduction of a fascist or nazist-ruled city. Freedom of expression is denied to anyone but the fascists and the nazists. Those who dare to challenge such a reign are beaten or deported from Jersey City. Every element of reaction and intolerance has openly joined the fascist administration of Jersey City. Included among these one finds the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor Unions, which can cause but very little surprise to us, uncompromising radicals.

The head of the gangster-ruled city is Mayor Frank Hague. And Mr. Hague is a vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Democratic Party. Many liberals have therefore been asking of President Roosevelt to take a stand which would bring about Hague's removal from the vice-chairmanship. Such a rebuke, liberals think, would serve as a stinging rebuke to the gangster-mayor Hague. So far, as in the case of Billings and Mooney, President Roosevelt has remained immovable to any action.

The contrast between his readiness to intervene in the case of Dr. Townsend and not to do so in the case of Billings and Mooney or in the Hague case—fully reveals not only Roosevelt as the same old Tammany Hall politician, but gives every one an inkling as to what a "bulwark" his administration can be expected to prove itself in any future test between the forces of fascist reaction and the forces working for a free and a just society.

President Roosevelt is not that arch-enemy of fascism that liberals and communists would want some of us to believe. As a matter of fact, he appears to be, a most tacit approver of the gangster methods of fascism as exemplified by Mayor Hague in Jersey City or by Franco in Spain.

MEXICO'S FLIGHT

The world finds itself today encircled by two kinds of devils serving the Mammon-God: fascist and democratic Governments. And to watch both kinds of rulerships at work is a lesson worthy of the attention of any seeker of truth. No such seekers need be told as to the methods by which fascist regimes maintain themselves, nor that they but serve the sole interests of Mammon.

Let us then better examine a bit closer the doings of so-called democratic governments in order to learn whose interests they are serving. The present plight of Mexico offers the opportunity to do this. British and American oil interests have been exploiting and actually robbing the people of Mexico for decades. Way back in the days of the infamous Diaz regime that brigand-tyrant had sold out the untold wealth of Mexico to every world-thief that was willing to offer cash or the promise of same. But many waters have passed since the reign of Diaz.

The people of Mexico, exploited and starved, have risen in many rebellions. Much blood has been spilled, mostly that of the people, in those uprisings. Many a politician that came to rule Mexico after Diaz was overthrown proved himself treacherous to the aims for which the people were spilling their blood. The oppressed people failing to realize that no government serves as anything but a bulwark against any impending march and aims of every attempted social uprising.

Today Mexico has at the head of its Government Cardenas. After vacillating for several years in his promise to rid the country of its foreign exploiters he finally drew up a plan whereby these investing thieves would be fully compensated for the stolen property which will be taken over by the Government.

The action of Cardenas was met with a hue and cry by the investing thieves, via their respective governments and their kept press.

The Government of Great Britain notified at once the Mexican Government that it will refuse to further buy any oil from Mexico, and subsequently broke off all diplomatic relations with it.

President Roosevelt and Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, who have up to not so very long ago been visiting South American republics in order to assure these of the "new deal" administration's love for self-rule and democracy proved their questionable sincerity by ordering the immediate suspension of the monthly purchase of \$2,500,000 of silver from the Mexican Government as a direct reprisal for the attempt of the latter to rid themselves of the American oil investing thieves.

The action of the two leading "democracies" of the world against Mexico shows what little difference there is between the bare-faced misacts of the fascist Governments and the hypocritical democratic ones. Both prove themselves over and over again as the obedient servants of Mammon.

At the same time the Mexican people may well reflect before growing too enthusiastic over the Cardenas Government. In the near future some sort of a patch-up agreement between the Cardenas regime and those of the foreign investing thieves will ensue, and the people will again find themselves betrayed and disillusioned.

In the final battle for emancipation—whenever that momentous time comes about—the people will refuse to compensate any foreign or native investing thieves that exploited and robbed them, as Cardenas is only too willing to do. Instead, the people will once and for all carry out the complete expropriation of all the wealth and products that they have created by the dint of their hard toil, sacrifice and suffering.

Not a hundred, nor a thousand Cardenases can give them that. They must take it themselves.

SPEAKING OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

The American Newspaper Publisher Association met last month in the swanky Waldorf-Astoria of New York City. Behind the secret doors the owners of the daily press in America raised their voices (so they announced) in behalf of the sacred rights of the freedom of the press. About a month ahead of them the American Society of Newspaper editors met in Washington, D. C. The editors denounced censorship and likewise spoke up in behalf of the freedom of the press.

It all sounded very, very nice. That is the assumed role of the newspaper owners and of their editors—as lovers of Freedom of Thought. But one is forced to ask: what do these warriors of the Freedom of the Press really mean? The answer is not hard to find. One has but to put their mouthed words to the test of a practical case where the Freedom of the Press is truly concerned in order to realize what vain pretending warriors they really are. To mind comes, naturally, the case of this journal and the persecution of its editor. For four years now the U. S. Government has made every effort to bring about the strangulation of MANI. For 19 long years the same government has been persecuting Marcus Graham for the sole reason of his holding divergent social views. Here then was a grand opportunity for the pretending warriors of the Freedom of the Press to come forward and rally in the defense of this journal and its persecuted editor. One need not tell any one that they have done nothing of the sort. As a matter of record, with but rare exceptions, most of the daily newspapers have so far suppressed even the news of the persecution of MANI and of its editor.

What these pretentious "warriors of the freedom of the press" really have in mind when swearing by these phrases is: the right of the publishers of the daily press, as well as of the whole capitalist set-up, to perpetuate their reign of rule and plunder unmolested, regardless of the fact that the greater part of the nation is gradually being reduced to beggars and at the same time having their lives and health imperiled more and more.

RUSSIAN OIL FOR ITALIAN ARMY

An associated press item from Rome, February 7, 1938, revealed the following interesting information:

The Russian Embassy Saturday delivered to the Italian Foreign Office a written protest against the sequestering of 1,700,000 lire (about \$39,000) of the Soviet Delegation's funds. . . . The dispute grew out of Russia's recent suspension of commercial payments to Italy, when Moscow

charged the Rome Government had not paid for shipments of Russian Oil to the Italian Army.

What alibi will the Bolshevik apologists give now for this treacherous cooperation that the Russian marxian government is rendering to Italy in the latter's conquest of Ethiopia and in the attempted conquest of Spain via General Franco?

SOCIAL CREDIT—UNLAWFUL

The Supreme Court of Canada has decreed that the social credit program of Premier William Aberhart in Alberta Province is "unlawful". Thus, the people find themselves hemstrung even when it does happen that an honest person chances to get hold of the reigns of the state machinery—and wishes to carry out some of the promised reforms. But even such a mild reform as social credit is too much for the powers that be to swallow. And when capitalism says no, its leading protectors—via the State—give their final death-blow decrees.

Social ideas are everywhere unlawful today. So why should anyone expect that social credit should not be included in the taboo class, even when it is not a thorough-going social idea of economic liberation?

GOVERNEMENTS IN PRACTICE

The rule of man over man could not have brought any other results than we are witnessing: suppression and imprisonment for opponents as well as exile and murder, if need be. Mussolini proved this much in fascist-ruled Italy, Hitler in Nazi-ruled Germany, Stalin in Bolshevik-ruled Russia, Great Britain in her dominions, United States in her domain—and so on—all along the line with every existent Government.

If the three-headed monster of fascism-nazism-bolshevism exceeds other Governments in their acts of perfidies, it is because of the very well known fact that their reign upon their respective subjects is solely an imposed one.

How close in spirit the so-called liberal and democratic Governments are with the doings of the three-headed monster regimes can be seen from the manner in which the first acquiesce in the misdeeds of the latter.

The London DAILY HERALD asserted on June 6, 1938, that the Nazi government of Austria released Dr. Sigmund Freud, 82 year-old "father of Psychology" only after a ransom sum of money was paid to it by Freud's friends. The HERALD added that the U. S. Government took precautions to ascertain that the Nazis allowed Dr. Freud to leave Austria after the ransom had been paid.

The SOCIALIST APPEAL of April 25, 1938, reported that the widow of the famous deceased German poet, Klausner, the actress Carola Neher, who was earlier sentenced by the Bolshevik Government to ten months servitude, was shot by the latter for consorting with persons who were later condemned as Trotskyists. She had previously attempted suicide by cutting her wrist with the sharp edge of a can.

Hitler invades Austria and the other world powers are only too ready to make deals with this idiotic monster just as they have already done with the shrewd monster—Mussolini.

The invasion of Ethiopia is openly recognized by the so-called League of Nations, as the British rulers conclude an open and secret treaty with Mussolini—furnishing him financial aid for enslaving the people of Ethiopia.

The infamous "non-intervention committee" conceived by the British rulers reveals itself in every one of its steps as an adjunct body that is to assure a victory for the butcher Franco over the Spanish people.

The "new deal" administration heeds the voice of its co-liberal traitors—the British rulers—by refusing to allow the Spanish "lawful" Government to obtain arms, although this is against all "international law concepts."

Such are the results of government by man over man, no matter what the pretentious shield it is hiding under.

Is it therefore not high time that mankind should cease to hold that fear and consternation that it has shown until now at the mention of the word Anarchy—the society of non-rulership of man by man—and better revert that fear and consternation at the word Government and all that that name implies?

THE GOVERNMENT'S DECLARATION OF THE AIMS OF THE WAR

The Government of the Republic issued on the first of May a note to be made public, especially addressed to foreign countries, in regard to the ends pursued by the Republic in this war.

We refer to the famous "Thirteen Points of Negrin," with which the attempt is being made to incline towards anti-fascist Spain the policies of the democratic countries. Apart from proclaiming the independence of Spain, the note makes solemn declarations as to the upholding of individual private property, guarantees for religious creeds and, in brief, a ratification of the Constitution of 1931, which implies a return, pure and simple, to those conditions which existed before July 19th. This would mean the disappearance of all the innovations achieved by the proletariat, which constitute the true revolutionary conquest. The difficult and serious situation in which we find ourselves, from a military and diplomatic point of view, the need of achieving a favorable attitude towards our cause on the part of the democratic powers are to be crushed by fascism after our heroic resistance, a need which unfortunately is imperative, decides us not to react violently against this declaration, even if the representative of the C. N. T. in the Government, comrade Segundo Blanco had abstained from endorsing the note in question.

The libertarian movement does not renounce, however, on this account, its revolutionary conquest. AL-

though allowing the enforced retreat of the proletariat, caused by extraordinary pressure, the same pressure that has forced us to retreat on the battlefields, we claim our right to come back in just the same way, as we mean to recuperate all the territory which has been invaded by the fascists. The C. N. T. and the F. A. I. affirm, under the present terrible circumstances, our revolutionary ends and our decision to keep on fighting until the last, but we consider that it is our immediate duty to crush fascism and to prevent any situation which endangers the present state of things. Conscious of our responsibility and faithful to our revolutionary principles, we call, with a greater right than ever, for the active and rapid solidarity from the workers of the world as well as from all the libertarian and liberal organizations.

Whatever be the Government that Spain may give itself after the victory of the Popular Army, the working class will claim the right to enjoy the benefits of its conquests.

—CNT-AIT-FAI BULLETIN OF INFORMATION.

That the Government leopard cannot change its spots is proven not only by the above statement, but also by the fact that the United States Post Office has returned all copies of the May issue of MANI addressed to Loyalist-controlled Spain with the inscription: PROHIBITED.

MANI

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MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

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DISCIPLINE IS ANTI-ANARCHISTIC

Marcus Graham

The article "Discipline and Anarchy" by Max Stephen, which was printed in the April issue, lends itself to a multifold discussion. It was printed out of consideration for the position that comrade Stephen occupies as editor of the leading weekly organ of the anarchist movement in France, "La Libertaire", and not because MAN! agreed with its main thesis.

Comrade Stephen begins his article by stating: "There is a great difference between the totalitarian State and liberal republics. Absolute monarchies and constitutional regimes present such differences that they have justified long and bloody revolutions."

In these two sentences alone comrade Stephen has given all possible justification for every compromising position that the liberal, the socialist and the communist would gladly subscribe to.

When the leadership of the Second Socialist International betrayed almost en masse the interests of the oppressed by turning into jingoistic militarists in 1914 they gave similar arguments as that given by comrade Stephen. So did our own teacher Peter Kropotkin and (luckily for our movement) the few scattered anarchists that supported his position.

The truth is that when one views the totalitarian and liberal States—superficially—then there appears somewhat of a difference between them. But no sooner does one make the approach of scrutinizing closely the acts of both and one finds but a mere difference in the tactics employed, and not in the ultimate aims.

To illustrate: Great Britain does not consider itself a totalitarian State. It allows so-called freedom of thought in England proper. But what of within its own imperialist held dominions? Does the same sort of freedom prevail there? Nothing of the sort!

One witnesses ever bleeding and exploited India, upon whose very poverty thrives and rides the aristocracy of Great Britain. And more or less identically the same applies to all of her other subjugated dominions.

But these alone by no means constitute all the perditions of Great Britain's rulers.

What of the betrayals that British rulers have enacted against Ethiopia and now against the people of Spain? Who does not know that a Mussolini could not have done what he did to Ethiopia, if not for the duplicity of the British rulers? The pact recently concluded by Mussolini and England whereby British financiers will furnish the money with which Mussolini is to exploit Ethiopia, as well as the betrayal of Ethiopia at the League of Nations—both speak most eloquently for the Judas role played by British rulers.

And what of Franco's invasion and massacre-war upon the innocents that is now going on for close to two years in Spain? Could that monstrous butcher have even begun his bloody campaign of murder—despite the open aid of Mussolini and Hitler—if the British rulers would not have preferred Franco to the people of Spain? Next to the Catholic church it was the British demonic rulers that prevented recently in the United States the lifting of the Embargo upon arms to Spain.

The raping and seizure of Austria by Hitler could likewise not have been enacted if the rulers of England had really opposed it.

And Great Britain's rulers are not the lone Judases on the world arena. The Madame of world finance—France—has danced along to the tune of every treachery committed by British rulers. Despite its pretended lip-protests, the Marxian-State of Russia is guilty of the same Judas acts of betrayal, as is also the "new deal" regime of the United States.

In reality then there is no difference between the totalitarian and the liberal rulerships. And to assert as does comrade Stephen, that this non-existent difference "justified long and bloody revolutions", is not only erroneous, but playing into the hands of our worst enemies—the compromisers and barterers in idealism.

The bare-faced misdeeds of the totalitarian regimes cannot be mistaken for too long, but this is not so with the so-called liberal, democratic and socialistic regimes. True enough, the multitudes in totalitarian States may appear as supporting such regimes. But everyone knows that this is being done at the point of the gun and prison, the threat of starvation and torture. The liberal regimes, on the other hand, masters in the art of deceiving, reign at ease under the cloak of meaningless shibboleths.

Even far more astounding is the assertion of comrade Stephen when he says:

"Anarchists who do not accept, but only conceive the negative aspects of our ideas are the best auxiliaries to dictatorship and governmental solutions to which they often rally."

As a matter of record it is those anarchists who have been most vociferous in the clamor for positive aspects of our ideas, who have even sketched the best programmes for the day after the Revolution who have proven themselves indirect (I refuse to say direct) "auxiliaries to dictatorships and governmental solutions".

We have seen this happening in Russia, where the greater part of the anarchist movement was actually absorbed by the Bolshevik regime. The powerful, in number, Union of Russian Workers of the United States, most of whom went back to Russia, was chiefly imbued with the anarcho-syndicalist ideology. And as an anarcho-syndicalist movement the Bolshevik Government tolerated them for several years after they had already exterminated the uncompromising anarchist movement.

Germany had an influential anarcho-syndicalist movement as did also Italy. Their ranks were chiefly recruited from the anarchist movement. What bulwark did they prove in preventing the fascists and nazis from rising to power? None. The only success that they could justly

lay claim to, is, having eaten up the anarchist movements.

And in Spain—where the anarcho-syndicalist movement did not succeed to swallow up the anarchist movement in toto—the whole world is witnessing the heroic fight that is being put up by the people of Spain. But can we forget that it was the anarcho-syndicalist movement which gave tacit approval to the people's participation in the elections of 1936? Shall we forget the readiness with which the anarcho-syndicalists, and even some of the anarchists, threw overboard their principles and became "realistic statesmen" as members of the Government? We cannot forget, either, that the same anarcho-syndicalists (and now including the anarchists as well) were fighting to gain back representation in the very Government that kicked them out and gratefully accepted but recently the one ministerial office given to them.

So much for those anarchists who accept and work for the positive aspects of our ideas, as comrade Stephens would wish to see all anarchists do.

Now in defense, if it needs one at all, of the uncompromising anarchist who conceives the "negative aspect of our ideas" as the first step before a truly positive aspect of our ideas could be put into practice. The uncompromising anarchist wishes to see first the discarding and end of every oppressive and exploitive institution before mankind can hope to begin the building up of a new free society.

The authoritarian attitude of comrade Stephen leads him on to say:

"Each and everyone must acquire the conviction that the subordination of individual activity to social needs is inevitable and even desirable, for it constitutes one of the main manifestations of sociable feelings without which the existence of collectives would be impossible."

The anarchist who has to "subordinate his individual activity to social needs" certainly need not make any too great an effort in order to attain such a state of affairs. Every totalitarian and liberal State offers him already that "glorious" opportunity.

The Struggle Against Governments

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Graz, five anarcho-syndicalists have been sentenced to long prison terms for Anarchistic activities including the printing of the paper "For Bread and Freedom" and the quarterly Anarchist publication "Light." Both publications had a wide circulation among the workers. —EXCHANGE.

ITALY

We see from an article by P. Giova in the Sozialistische Worte, that Professor Gaggi, public prosecutor at one of the fascist special courts, recently published a long report about the anti-fascist action in Italy in the Italian Journal of Criminal Law. He founds his observations on ten years' practice in the prosecution of anti-fascists and his exposition is so very interesting, according to Giova, because it forms as it were official confirmation, that the opposition against the ruling dictatorship cannot be destroyed, not even by the draconic sentences of the special courts.

Professor Gaggi acknowledges that anti-fascist action is carried on on all sides: "We must bear in mind that no district, no province in Italy is free from this rebellious activity."

Among the causes which have contributed to the thriving of the opposition, Gaggi reckons the bad economic conditions, although he does not quite understand how such an agitation could grip the masses "considering that the tremendous work done for them every day by fascism, in which they share, is daily before their eyes." In what these achievements on behalf of the masses consist, however, he omits to mention. From what Professor Gaggi writes further, Giova concludes that fascism meets with no love among the people, and that its representatives are rejected as strange and uncongenial. "One is involuntarily reminded here of Silone's Pontamara, in which he gives an impressive picture of the arrogant way the deputies of fascism treat the cafoni, the poor tenant farmers in the South of Italy, and abuse of their ignorance."

That the oppression exercised by fascist dictatorship is yet in the end inefficacious is acknowledged by Professor Gaggi when he writes: "The long terms of imprisonment only increase the political fervor of the delinquents. For only thus can it be explained that young people who are 28 or 30 years old when they leave prison have spent eight or ten years on account of their seditious activities, begin their political work anew after a few weeks, and so come into conflict again with the severe justice of the special courts."

He mentions that young people of twenty to thirty have told him calmly they were prepared to spend their whole life in prison in two or three periods, and ends with the remark, that the means of repression against this are impotent, insufficient and one-sided. "To him of course it is incomprehensible" — Giova ends his article — "that there are people who are determined to devote their life to right and liberty. But all the more strength will it lend to those who see 'officially' nowadays hardly anything but the triumph of naked violence. From it they will draw strength to withstand this 'right of violence' and to bring right itself into power."

—IAMB PRESS SERVICE.

PORTUGAL

According to the latest news received from Portugal, in spite of the repressive measures introduced by the dictators, the situation becomes more difficult for them every day. Many protests are being made against the policy of Salazar, particularly regarding his intervention in Spain.

Day after day the dictators have to face riots, strikes

An anarchist society, to be worthy of the name, will make it possible for each individual to bring forth instead of to subordinate every form of one's activities.

Comrade Stephen is led on to another grave error when he writes:

"Regardless of our great love for independence we still remain slaves to our material, sentimental and intellectual needs. To satisfy them we must have an understanding with others and reckon with their existence."

What does comrade Stephen mean by these two sentences? Why should any anarchist command respect or a hearing, who remains a slave to "material, sentimental and intellectual needs"? . . . What remains of one's anarchism when sacrificing independence and rebellion against any custom, law, habit or form of life that comrade Stephen terms as slavish?

It is possible that comrade Stephen sort of felt the slippery road upon which he had embarked. Thus one finds him writing in the preceding paragraph from the one which was just quoted:

An objection: "If you affirm, freedom does neither exist in production nor in consumption, if we cannot do as we want to, what is then the practical difference between Anarchism and the authoritarian State, and libertarian Socialism and the political Socialism?"

All that I can add to the objection that comrade Stephen expects would be made to his essay, is: *There is indeed no difference left between the authoritarian and anti-authoritarian ideologies in the light of his own presentation of our anarchist philosophy.*

No, discipline in every conceivable shape, manner and form never had or ever can have anything in common with Anarchy—the ideal of the liberated—and therefore, spontaneous human being. Whenever discipline sets in, the door is opened wide and afar for authority to enter. And no freed mankind can be materialized as long as compulsion, the chief prop of authority, prevails.

and other manifestations of revolt. Besides this, a great part of the Army is frankly opposed to Salazar's policy. Lately, there have been many arrests made in the province of Algarve, mostly of individuals accused of carrying on clandestine propaganda, and among them are many doctors and lawyers.

In Faro, the police arrested 35 persons on the charge of belonging to clandestine society and of having arms in their possession.

It is known that from the Island of Madeira 50 persons have been sent to Lisbon heavily guarded, charged with conspiracy to start a revolutionary movement in the Island.

From the province of Alentejo, we learn that several riots have taken place and that the workers of Portalegre are out on strike.

This rebellious attitude is quite in line with the liberal and revolutionary character of the Portuguese workers. During the 12 years that they have been under the yoke of the dictatorship, the people have been affirming day by day their hatred for the regime which oppresses them.

Until 1936, Portugal has seen six revolutionary uprisings, all of them very important. Among the various attempts made to overthrow the dictatorship, figures the general strike of 1934, in which the Portuguese proletariat placed all its strength and faith. That movement would have succeeded in overthrowing the dictatorship had it not been for the politicians who betrayed the workers by refusing to join the movement as they promised. The victims of all these revolutionary failures are always our comrades and best militants, who are sent to suffer the tortures of the concentration camps of Timor, Angra del Heroismo and Africa.

In spite of the cruel repressions, the few militants who succeed in escaping persecution do their work surreptitiously, keeping in contact with our several Confederal organizations and intensifying their action against the dictatorship. This work has been intensified since the Spanish revolution began. There have been several revolutionary manifestations, among which we may mention the partial rebellion of the Navy in August 1937, the attack on the Ministerial palaces, resulting in the complete destruction of the Ministry of War, the destruction of the munition factory at Barcarena, the attempts against the broadcasting stations Radio Club of Portugal and the Emisora Nacional, both of which were out of order for several weeks, and, finally, the assault on the persons of Salazar who narrowly escaped death.

Nobody will doubt that the workers of Portugal have been active before the treason of Salazar against their Spanish brothers. The Portuguese revolutionists, by the acts of protest we have just recorded and in spite of the close vigilance of the police, prove their great enthusiasm for the Spanish cause. We can say that the Portuguese workers, hunted like wild animals, have offered their lives to hinder the criminal support given by Salazar to the treacherous Spanish Generals.

—CNT-AIT-FAI BULLETIN OF INFORMATION.

Pro-Anarchist Publications

CHALLENGE, weekly, \$2.00 a year. Station D, Box 177, New York City.
SPAIN and the WORLD, fortnightly, \$1.25 a year. 21 Frith Street, London, W.1, England.
SPANISH REVOLUTION, fortnightly, \$1.00 a year. 45 W. 17 Street, New York City.
VANGUARD, appears 4-6 times a year, \$1.00 for twelve issues. 45 W. 17 Street, New York City.

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties. —JOHN MILTON

PACIFIST OR REVOLUTIONARY METHODS?

Dear Comrade Graham:

I have been following with the greatest of interest the articles on the question of violence or non-violence, between Comrades Faure and Ramus, and cannot resist writing you about it. Much as I respect and sympathize with Comrade Faure, and much as my natural desire prompts me to applaud the use of force against individual or social despotism, I cannot but believe that Comrade Ramus has gone to the heart of the matter.

It seems to me that Anarchism can never be achieved by a forcible and violent overthrow of the existing order for that would necessitate a rule of the victorious anarchists over their opponents to consolidate their triumph. Such a conclusion would be a paradox, a direct negation of Anarchism.

Not only from an ethical angle is militant non-violent resistance proper, but from a tactical viewpoint it is necessary to appreciate that only this method can achieve results. With the advanced weapons at the disposal of government, the vast economic and monetary resources with which it can not only prosecute opponents but hire ruffians to carry out its designs, and keeping in view the apathy of the masses of people, it appears futile for even a powerful and determined group of anarchists to expect success over such formidable opposition. The vastness of the U. S. would also prove an added deterrent for altho the entire eastern coast were won such a group would still have the west or central states with their millions of people to overcome. The greatest civil war in history would be precipitated and such waste of life and money would ensue that the victors would hold only the battered shell of a land, and then would be forced to recognize all their efforts for achieving a free society balked as I have previously stated by the contradiction of being forced to hold their gains by some sort of repression.

But there is a more devastating weapon than that wielded by non-violent resistance in the hands of a determined minority. This of course takes the form of non-recognition of the state through the refusal of army service, police service, jury service, refusal to pay taxes, through the use of non-violent strikes, boycott and other similar methods, and a continual and strong effort at propaganda and education of the masses. Resistance of isolated individuals though unsuccessful in materially weakening government will however constitute the modern non-violent "propaganda of the deed": non-violent resistance of an organized minority will sap the foundation of the state and ultimately accomplish the social revolution. Government has no weapon to use once a sufficiently strong minority recognized this principle and had the tenacity to follow it through. And once we are conscious of the power that we wield, few though we be, then our efforts will be placed not in the hope of drilling armed cohorts to fight tyranny by force, but in drilling and organizing forces in the technique of non-violent resistance. And let us not be aroused by our passions when viewing injustice, to the point that we forego the advantage that this method gives us, and lay ourselves open to a powerful state violence that knows ways to crush this violent type of resistance. Let us not give the state that advantage.

The technique of which I speak was instrumental in winning equal representation in the Austro-Hungarian Dual monarchy for the Hungarians, in accomplishing great gains against Landlordism in Ireland by the Irish Land League, in Gandhi's struggles with the British, the Dukhobors against the powerful Czarist state, by the Quakers a century ago in winning civil rights in England. Although not reaping the fruits of complete success and although not used by Anarchists, yet certainly it is impossible to point with any jubilation at the results of centuries of violent effort.

For an adequate presentation of the theoretical and practical working out of non-violent resistance, and its powerful psychological effects on an opponent, I think Richard Gregg in his book entitled, "The Power Of Non-violence" has given a fine interpretation, and of course Tolstoy's works have done much to popularize this method. Also certain writings of Benjamin Tucker.

Comrade Ramus' article is, I hope, the first step in a new tactical approach to the realization of our great ideal, Anarchy, that it may be, and that quickly, no longer an ideal but a reality.

ROGER HALL

GOVERNMENT, MONEY AND RELIGION

Enclosed please find \$1.00 for use in your fight. Sorry I cannot send you more. I like your paper the best of any thing I get. Have no fault to find with your aims and objects but do not agree with your methods.

I am entirely opposed to violence, force never settles anything, it will bob up again and again. Education is our only hope. Once get the three fundamentals firmly in your mind and you will be able to see your way out. First religion, second government, third money. These three are the major causes of our difficulties. Religion is fraud, government is force, money controls both.

It is utterly impossible to make any progress and use the other fellow's money to do our business with. The workers produce everything and have no money, the money changers produce nothing and have everything. Now as long as the workers think they MUST have MONEY they are completely tied up and money is going to dictate everything. But the minute that labor learns that it has the right to create its own medium of exchange and do its own business all will be well. We must have a personal money that cannot be ACQUIRED but MUST be earned.

Many now a days are advocating a moneyless system but this has the objection of injustice and will require FORCE the same as in Russia now, that would be a burden on the

producer and could not give us exact justice.

The latest that I have discovered and the most readily accepted thought that I have is this. Government is a racket. War is hijacking. A country is a definite area set aside for the exploitation of our own racketeers, a patriot is he who hollers loudest for the home brand of racketeers. Everybody seems to subscribe to these four points.

H. H. CUMMINS

A LINK OF SYMPATHY WITH ANARCHISTS

Dear Marcus Graham:

Though I am associated with the Rationalist and Positivist and Ethical and Humanist and Socialist and Social Credit (Douglasite) Movements, I always keep a link of sympathy with the Anarchists who make protests against dull institutions, bureaucracy, legalism, snobbery, prohibitionism and cold-blooded regimentation. This type of mind explains why, when on an educational tour in U. S. A. in the summer of 1911, and having a spare Sunday morning (June 4), I found my way, alone and uninvited, to the Ferrer School in New

York City, and had a friendly chat with Alexander Berkman, and stayed an hour or two listening to the recitations of the young people under Berkman's kindly direction. I am glad I met this courageous man, and touched his Russian hand. I am sorry to read in your journal the story of his untimely death.

I may say here that, not long before his execution, Ferrer had told a friend that he wished one of my books to be translated into Spanish.

Human evolution is a grand process of trial, adjustment, and triumph over countless obstacles, and a movement, as Walt Whitman says, "toward something great." The heroic workers for this movement are of many races and types. The names they call themselves by are not fundamentally important. It is the human, progressive, fraternal, generous and brave temper that matters. That is why I salute the memory of Berkman.

FREDERICK J. GOULD* (age 80)

* This is the last letter that our constant reader and friend wrote to us. He died on April 6, 1938.—EDITOR.

Book Review

PREVENTING CRIME.—A symposium Edited by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N. Y., 1936.

Radicals in general usually state that capitalism is the cause of most of the crime and that it is useless to try to prevent crime. They state that all efforts should be given towards the overthrow of capitalism and that crime will thus be conquered. To those who wish to be alert on this subject of preventing crime this book by twenty-four authors presents a variety of views worth considering. Before reviewing the book I will state the opinion of Kropotkin on the subject of crime and prisons as given by Roger Baldwin in the World Tomorrow of June, 1928:

"The first duty of the revolution will be to abolish prisons—those monuments of human hypocrisy and cowardice. Anti-social acts need not be feared in a society of equals. . . as for those individuals with evil tendencies whom existing society will pass on to us after the revolution, it will be our task to prevent their exercising these tendencies. . . If we do not succeed in all cases, the only practical corrective will be fraternal treatment and moral support. This is not Utopia. It is already done by isolated individuals and will become the general practice. And such means will be far more powerful to protect society from anti-social acts than the existing system of punishment, which is an ever fertile source of new crimes."

The authors contrast the old idea of firemen waiting until the flames to tell them of a fire before doing anything about it with our present system of imprisoning those caught breaking the law. The scientific method is to inspect and condemn fire hazards and to offer those in congested criminal areas a constructive outlet for their energies which would lead away from a life of crime.

The purpose of this book is constructive criticism; and while the authors do not make the statement of Justice Holmes that: "Half of the criminal law does more harm than good", they at least point out that punishment has not prevented crime nor reformed the criminal.

The authors advocate the anarchist technique of experimentation rather than cut and dried legality; the stressing of the improvement of the individual delinquent in methods which apply to him, rather than mass methods which must fall short because of their failing to meet the needs of delinquents. The value of contact with agencies other than courts, police stations and institutions, and the place of the school in training the young child in social rather than in anti-social attitudes is stressed.

One public school principal tells of his aim to have the children gain self control and the responsibility of each for his own behaviour, instead of the prevailing idea of punishment. The goal in school was also supposed to be practiced at home. Another school has emphasized the visiting teacher's contact with the family and the continued interest in the family after the children have left school.

Teachers and social workers have been handicapped in their efforts by the traditional fetish of the police in their vengeance toward the prisoner. Only in Berkeley, California has there been among the police a continued effort to approach different and more humane methods.

Several farms where boys with almost hopeless records have been given an opportunity to develop into social minded individuals are described. One director says: "The individuality of every boy is respected. Not to fit him to a mold but to develop him into an individual assuming social responsibility for himself is the ideal sought for. Condemnation on moral grounds is avoided." Another director states that we give prizes and scholarships to boys who will be most likely to make good by their own abilities and efforts and begrudge any aid given to those boys who need it most. The director of another group where thousands of boys have been handled says: "Fear of punishment is not a great deterrent from crime. What criminal imagines that he will be caught when he perpetrates his 'perfect crime'?"

One innovation was begun when a Juvenile Judge conducted a school for the parents of juvenile offenders and issued many pamphlets on subjects which would tend to make the parents more appreciative of the needs and the outlook of the younger generation. In another city a Boy's Club officials visited all of the delinquent families and tried to get them interested in the activities of the club, which were free to all.

The most outstanding experiment seemed to be the sponsoring of gangs of boys who met in tough districts, by men of standing in the city. These men spent their time and money

in fixing up an old warehouse or other vacant building into a clean clubhouse. They did not preach or dictate to the boys but tried to show them other objects in life of interest.

Enough has been said to show the trend of the book. Many of us might feel that we have more important duties than the minimizing of the evils of the capitalist system. How soon may the effects of this system with its anti-social attitude touch us? We have a responsibility which we cannot dodge. Thomas Mott Osborne, on the eve of an execution, said:

"I cannot at the risk of violating official proprieties, keep silent. I must voice my protest as a citizen. . . for when society does a man to death it is not you as Governor, nor I as Warden, nor even the electrician who turns on the death current who is responsible; it is every man in the community who utters no protest against the killing."

We who protested when Sacco and Vanzetti were being persecuted knew well the inertia of the majority of the workers. Along with our radical propaganda for a new society let us act in a manner that is in alignment with our ideals of freedom and justice toward those coming in conflict with the law. We know that dependence upon the authority of parent, of teacher, of priest, and of the state has robbed the masses of their power to think and act for themselves. We know also that this deadening influence must be overcome before a society founded upon voluntary cooperation can become effective.

We cannot prevent all the crime until men have been used to ruling themselves, but we can minimize crime by the practice of our anarchist principles. The classic statement on the orthodox treatment of criminals was given in 1904 by Osborne before the American Prison Association:

"The prison system endeavors to make men industrious by driving them to work; to make them virtuous by removing temptation; to make them respect the law by forcing them to obey orders of an autocrat; to make them farsighted by allowing them no chance to use foresight; to give them individual initiative by treating them in large groups; in short to prepare them again for society by placing them in conditions as unlike real society as they could well be made."

The libertarian principle is the very antithesis of this medieval procedure.

Ammon A. Hennacy

THE CHARACTER OF JEHOVA

(As shown by biblical quotations)

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Lying, | Ezek. 14.9 |
| Cheating, | Ex. 3.21-22 |
| Stealing, | Prov. 6.30 |
| Murder, | Ex. 32.27 |
| Human Sacrifice, | Lev. 23.29 |
| War, | Ps. 144-1 |
| Cannibalism, | Lev. 26.29 |
| Witchcraft, | Ex. 22.18 |
| Slavery, | Ex. 21.2-4 |
| Polygamy, | Deut. 21.15 |
| Adultery, | Hosea 3. 1-2 |
| Obscenity, | Gen. 19.30-36 |
| Intemperance, | Deut. 14.26 |
| Injustice to Women, | Gen. 3.16 |
| Cruelty to Children, | Prov. 23.14 |
| Cruelty to Animals, | Deut. 22.6-7 |
| Tyranny, | Deut. 2.25 |
| Intolerance, | Ps. 109.8-12 |

Compiled by LAURENCE LABADIE

L'UOMO E LA PAROLA

(Talk and Man!)

The true man of action is never a great talker; deeds generally don't require lips' movement and speech replaces the strength of action. The complete fulfillment of contracted obligations demand neither long discourses nor statement of doctrine adhering to: Socialism, Republicanism, Anarchism . . . the only thing necessary is the proper conception of one's own responsibility.

He (and few they are) who respect one's own dignity needs not talk much his integrity; this makes him a man of his word, a man of action.

TH.

(From "Il Risveglio" By J. S.)

ART and LITERATURE

SOCIAL DEBT

Suggs was as melancholy as a straw hat in a blizzard. The north wind cut with a stiletto-pointed sleet as Siggs, ex-con, walked the streets of North Fort Worth looking for a job.

Back in 1917 Suggs had been one of thousands of Texas lads who had stood in line before army recruiting stations, ready to enlist in the regiments that were bound for France and other slaughter pens. He stopped a machine gun bullet in the Argonne woods but that had been twenty years ago. Now in 1937, he walked the streets of North Fort Worth, a jobless, maimed and hunted man.

In the distance packing houses, like brooding monsters, stood on the hills overlooking Marine Park. A slow rain was falling . . . Suggs was hungry and cold. Only three days before he had been released from Huntsville, that big city of crushed and silent men, where Texas sends its so-called criminals to pay debts to society.

Suggs had stolen a few dollars from a cash register from a downtown department store via the pistol route. Suggs had courage which most stick up men have . . . a quality that the more clever robbers of the so-called upper class possess. Suggs committed his crimes back in those bleak panic days of December 1932, when Herbert Hoover, sitting in the White House and with his pockets full of gold, was assuring the common people that prosperity was just around the corner. . . . In a big bank across the street from where Suggs staged his daylight hold up, stuffy business men who smoked black cigars and whose stomachs stuck out, stole a few million

dollars via the high finance route, using ledgers and other tricks of big business. They contributed to the community chest, the First Presbyterian church and the Red Cross. Also, they bought crippled children Christmas presents, but over-worked shop girls and visited cheap peep shows as a relaxation measure.

Suggs, out of parole, observed a loaf of bread in a grocer's window.

The north wind came harder.

A woman of the street whispered but Suggs turned her away with a friendly: "I'm broke, kid, . . . better find a rich guy . . ."

"But the rich guy threw me overboard," the prostitute said. "Says I'm getting too old. I used to be a better looker . . . worked in a ten cent store until a banker came along and took a liking to my leg . . . gave me a job in his bank, sort of a secretary, only I had to go out nights with him . . . But, as I grew older, he got tired and I guess found a new girl. . . . Say kid, you look hungry . . . come along, I'll buy you a hamburger. . . ."

"Wait a minute there," a cop barked. "You are under arrest . . . you can't associate with a prostitute . . . its against the law!"

"But what about the rich man," Suggs whispered to the girl as they walked away.

"That's different," the girl mused. " . . . Time you were learning your way around . . . Ever heard about social debts. . . ? I guess we owe society a debt for being outcasts."

William Allen Ward

VICTORY . . .

"Where once the chirping birdies stretched
their necks for food,
The empty nest remains. . . ."

The deep vibrations of the drum resounded the victory. Through the window it could be seen that uniformed men, strangers, rushed hither and thither, and cries of women, children, and even men were increasingly audible. They all knew what it was—the uprising of a military clique, supported by foreign powers, gaining an upper hand!

Instantly there was a rap on the door. The occupants of the house exchanged quick glances, but no word was said. The rap became more violent.

Finally, old señor del Veral rose and moved cautiously towards the door. Senora del Veral, his daughter-in-law, sat pale and trembling. Her husband was out fighting—for the other side. Behind the mother sat a diminutive senorita, shy, just past fifteen. In the corner crouched the twins, two boys, next in age, and near them stood their youngest brother. Don, who wasn't sure what it was all about.

As soon as the old man touched the bar on the heavy door, the door was instantly pushed in, almost knocking him over by the pressure from outside. Six men surged forward. About that many more stood behind. They wore black shirts, some were dirty, unshaven, foreign. A dis-

gusted priest stood at the extreme back, eyes downcast, muttering unintelligibly to himself. A thick set front man struck the old man on the chest with his fist. Senor groaned. A second blow in the face knocked him off his feet and he was dragged away into the street. Then, one by one, the house was emptied of other occupants. Senora was next escorted out; the screaming senorita was pulled away in another direction; the twins were scrambling to get out to safety.

Only the five year old Don remained, stoically though hapless, and puzzled by the intrusion into his home where a little while ago he laughed and played with other children. He shook a fist at the invaders, at the same time hurling childish invectives. "Go on away! You leave me alone!"

But the invader did not go; he came closer, eyes flashing like that of a monster. Don raised his small foot to kick, but he quickly dropped it as if realizing the futility of it. He was slowly backing away, his eyes set on the aimed bayonet. There was a sudden motion, a sudden thrust, sudden whine . . . But already the heart was pierced! There was no more pain, lips were parting, he smiled like he was being tickled . . . still standing until the soldier pulled the bayonet and the little body crumbled lifeless to the floor!

C. O. N. Kin

ANARCHISTS LIKE POETS ARE BORN NOT MADE

The Anarchist is an unique phenomenon. You cannot account for him. If you could he would not be an Anarchist. Take an ordinary man of the world—what he thinks and what he does—his whole standard of duty is taken from the society in which he lives. It is a borrowed standard; he is as good as other people are; he does, in the way of duty, what is generally considered proper and becoming among those with whom his lot is cast. He reflects established opinion on such points. He follows its lead. His aims and objects in life are taken from the world around him, and from its dictation. What is considered honorable, worth having, advantageous and good become to him the objects of desire and pursuit. All his motives bear a trade-mark. It would be absurd to say that there is any mystery in a character as this, it being formed in accordance with known and prescribed external influences—patterned on his interpretation of social opinion and the voice of the world. Whence such a character cometh we see; what such a man will do we know, as we know the physical effect of physical causes. He swims with the current.

Then there is the other. That other of whom it is true to say "thou canst not tell whence it cometh nor whither it

goeth." He stands out from the crowd unaffected by the crowd's feelings, its longings, its standards. We do not so much as ask what he is, as to recognize what he is not. He is distinct; unique. He does not exult with the pettiness that sway the mob; nor is he overcome with the trivial dreads that overwhelm the herds. He disdains to follow. Not that he stands aloof, but the associates he seeks are among the leaders of men, not among the led—among the resolute who dare adventure and have no ear for the timid counsels of precedent; among the hardy explorers, inventors, discoverers; among those who have cast off the leading strings of vogue, fashion, tradition.

There is nothing of the flock-gregariousness about him. The comrade he craves are, like himself, conscious of their individuality, their uniqueness.

Such characters are not molded in the schools. They are undominated and unafraid. They do not reflect the hues and aspects of the mass.

Such is the Anarchist: the ego conscious of his individuality. He does not swim with the current but against it. Like the poet, he is born, not made.

Ray Goodheart

OUR POETS SPEAK

Nineteen

I was one, a girl's heart among the many,
Their shout was my shout, my voice theirs,
I surged with anger,
I lifted the fists of many to strike the scabs,
The cops charged, the mass heaved in terror,
Clubs thudded on heads, one head, mine,
Some fell pierced by bullets,
I sank even as they did,
And when they died, I too was dead.

H. MATTHEWS

Salvator Cuius?

Jesus Saves in scarlet Neon,
Union Oil in dainty blue—
Curious that there should be on
This one block these gleaming two:
While a groping people craves

Peace from penury and toil
Jesus Saves
Union Oil.

Logoi

Words—words eternally—the books are filled
With words in varied patterns. Words are tossed
Broadcast upon the virgin pages, lost
Beneath a drifting soil that none has tilled
Sufficiently to reap a harvest, killed
By tumbleweed fecundity—embossed
In gilt upon a purple leaf, at cost
Of thinking now and heeding later—spilled
Inkily in the daily press. . . . I seek
To tell you of the truth—and bitter curds
Rise in the milk above a pallid, weak
And watery remainder; prose and verse
Labor beneath the everlasting curse. . . .
Life! In thy mercy, grant release from words!

GEORGE HEDLEY

Free Speech

In dictatorial States
Speeches flamboyant and loud,
Deserve contempt and jeers;
The audience holds its tongue—
In silence construed as cheers,
Which only conceals its hates!

HARRY BLOCK

Hymn

We are the worms. . . .
Twisting, writhing worms. . . .
Let us alone. . . we are the worms,
We will make all men equal. . . .
The field marshal and the conscript—
We will make dirt out of them.

Neanderthal

The electric chair is a neanderthal monster, waiting ever
waiting in the death house for its next victim. . . .
A thousand years must pass . . . then staid college professors
will point out the electric chair in the
museum of the great university as an instrument
of torture used in the dark ages.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

3 A. M. (any city 1936-1937)

They struggle and strive to fill a sack
To carry away to their den—
Like snarling wolves, this fighting pack
Of hungry, battered men.
Who search the restaurant garbage can,
For a precious morning prize.
Man's inhumanity to man
Is hard to realize!

Depression

(a vignette)
Suppressed
humanity,
men on relief—
rusting on machinery!
Gaunt women with hungry babes.
System's shame.

Omens

Slowly
mounting their steeds
the four horse-men
ride again, since Mars cracked
his whip of intolerance
on the world.

FLOZARI ROCKWOOD

A CRAB AND A MAN

A crab is a wonderful critter,
A natural-born go-gitter
If she loses a claw
She don't run to Ma,
But grows on a new one to fitter.

But when a man loses a leg
There's no use the Almighty to beg.
He can earnestly pray
Till resurrection Day—
And still stump around on a peg.

BOB LYLE

Cave Mother

The night of dark, wild dreams is somehow done;
The mystery of the new day lies ahead.
Our men trail singly toward the mounting sun,
Our women at the stone are pounding bread.
Brown babies stretch and roll upon the sand;
Beside the stream our striplings call and wait;
But I—Mother of all—chin in my hand,
At the cave's mouth I crouch and meditate.

I, too, have had my play-time and my food,
Have had my games and laughter at the stream,
And I have labored where the rude trough stood,
But now, at last, I only sit and dream.
Where is the Tender One with milk filled breast?
Where is the Mighty Leader with his spear?
Where is that Laughing One that I loved the best?
A-la! An enemy is ever near.

An enemy we know—yet do not know—
He gathers breath and life-blood from our own.
We know not whence he comes, where he may go,
Our clubs are powerless and our slings of stone.
He comes back in the sabre-tooth's fierce guise,
Or sometimes hides in broken, storm-lashed tree,
And once I saw him stand behind the eyes
Of the strong hunter who lay down with me.

We have our charms; we have our mumbled prayer;
A bloody altar and a hungry priest,
And yet the Enemy stalks from his lair—
Not all our men will come back from the east!
Not all our babies will suckle breast tonight!
A youth will turn back in the trail—too late!
A-la! I crouch and stare into the light.
Mother of all my tribe—I meditate.

SARAH BUNDY PENCE

THE LAND OF SPONTANEOUS CONFESSIONS

From 1933 to 1938 I worked as a thorough Communist. I was expelled from the Communist Party in 1934 because of a fight on a construction job. I fought a 'kom-somolets' (young Communist) who was trying to steal my tools. The true cause of my expulsion however, was my disgust at the sight of the terrible conditions under which men were compelled to work in Soviet Russia.

The past year I received a premium as a confirmation of my being one of the best workers. This fact destroyed in advance any mistrust held by those who could see in me a saboteur. This premium consisted of an individual room for my wife and myself, a thing of great luxury for the Russian workers.

I was arrested at midnight in my dwelling place. (All arrests in Russia, including those of workers, are operated with the same brutality.) The N. K. V. D. (new name for the G. P. U.) entered guns in hand and ordered me to put up my hands. No courtesy for my wife who was still in bed. The search was sudden and brutal. The policemen threw themselves first upon my library. They only found books by Marx and Lenin. All my papers and correspondence were confiscated even though they had already passed through the official censor. They seemed to attach great importance to two addresses of Italian socialists living in foreign countries.

Then they took me by automobile to the Lubianka prison. From that time on I could never get any news from my wife; (she was pregnant at the time and I did not know anything about the expected baby.) I never was permitted to receive visitors, letters or books. During my eight months of incarceration I only received a few rubles scraped up by my wife. And each time she sent me money the jailer brought me a register opened at the page where I had to sign; but the whole page was covered with a metal sheet, a slit permitted me to write my name. He ordered me to sign and gave me a receipt. This proceeding of signing a hidden page is the general routine followed in Russian prisons. We can well imagine what this means; it guarantees the confirmation of any kind of declaration.

The Accusation. After a week of secret isolation I was taken to the judge. The latter presented me with the accusation. I had violated Articles 4, 8, and 10 of the penal code; I had organized the aid of international bourgeoisie; I was a terrorist; I had stirred up anti-soviet agitation.

"You read the Articles of the law," said I to the judge, "but you do not prove that I have violated them." As my knowledge of the Russian language was very limited, I asked the judge for an Italian interpreter. He replied that he understood me well enough. I accepted his decision and paid very dearly for it later on.

The judge started by asking me if I had been a member of the Trotskyists, Anarchists, or Bordighists. I enumerated the imposing list of organizations to which I adhered; Socialists, Communists, and Syndicalists.

Then I was accused of being a spy. In 1936 I had called upon the Italian Consul for a passport to go and fight in Spain. I had no papers, since all political refugees arriving in Russia have their passports and other documents taken away from them, and are morally compelled to promise to adopt the Russian nationality.

Well, finally the judge read his official report to me and asked me if it conformed to my declarations. In view of my limited knowledge of the Russian language and my trust in his integrity, I answered in the affirmative. I could not realize then that I had been duped.

Later on I was called for another hearing. This time an Italian interpreter was present. He asked me if it were true that I was a Trotskyist. Greatly surprised, I told him that I never considered myself as such. He then showed me the judge's report, signed by me, containing my acknowledgement of being a Trotskyist and guilty of all the crimes of which I was accused. I angrily protested my innocence, denounced the judge's infamy, described my position in writing and stipulated that I would never again sign any documents except those presented to me in the Italian language.

I decided to go on a hunger strike until I could see an attorney and have the first official report cancelled. My hunger strike lasted nine days; then my demand was granted.

Again I was called before the judge. This time I

(The Fate of an Italian Anti-Fascist who refused to plead guilty.)

The following testimony is from an ex-member of the Communist Party who went to Russia in 1933 with the authorization of the Red Aid Association. This permit had been given to him for the reason that he was threatened with an 18 year prison sentence in Italy, and had been deported from various European countries. This report is extremely enlightening since it allows us to understand perfectly the proceedings which lead to the pleas of guilt in Moscow. Since part of the family of the author are still in Russia, we deem it safer not to give his name. This testimony was presented to "Le Libérateur" through Henry Poulaille. — J. S.

refused to talk or sign anything. Various means were tried to have me change my mind. I was offered the extremes of luxurious food and rotting in jail. Nothing changed my stand. But two weeks later I underwent the worst grilling of my life. For five days and five nights officials questioned me about my supposed crimes. When I fell asleep from exhaustion they revived me with ammonia. Then in a fit of rage and despair I started to overturn the furniture. My weakness and rage rendered me unconscious. When I revived I found myself back in my cell.

A few days after that I was transferred to a collective cell. There I met Scarioli and Pappa, two Italians. They told me that under similar grilling they had pleaded guilty to all the crimes imputed to them; but as both had adopted Russian citizenship they were sentenced to five years in a concentration camp, while I, who had always refused naturalization, was condemned to deportation.

Then I was transferred again, this time to the deportees' section. There I found men of various nationalities. You can imagine my abashment when I learned that some of them had been waiting for two, three and four years to be deported.

Still I was not free from further persecutions. There came another hearing. This time the same judge told me that they had found a revolver and 150 cartridges in my room. He knew Kola, the man who had given them to me. There was only one thing for me to do now, sign the well prepared declaration which, no doubt, would have ended the whole crooked business by placing me in front of a firing squad. I reiterated my former statement that I would sign only reports conforming to my declarations, and if such reports were presented to me in Italian. Upon hearing my refusal, the judge called two heavily built policemen and told them to sit on either side of me. "No more courtesy on my part," said the judge, "I am going to compel you to talk." I saw what was coming, and in a fit of rage I tore my shirt open and thundered; "Put an end to this damned torture! Shoot me!" Because of this outburst I regained my cell.

On Sept. 18th, two months after my last hearing, I, with other prisoners that were being deported, were placed in a train bound for Odessa by way of Kharkov. In Kharkov there was a four day stop during which we were placed in a jail. On the fifth day we were to resume our journey. I was the only one whose name was not on the list. I protested and refused to reenter the cell. The beating I then received nearly killed me. However, the commanding officer later appeared to tell me that I was to go along with the rest. Seeing my face full of blood he inquired, but to my accusations he answered that in Russia prisoners were never beaten.

We had now reached Odessa. Twenty-five of us were thrown into a cell that was twenty yards square and contained no bedding, all were to sleep upon the concrete floor. For food we had 600 grammes of black bread, and 20 grammes of sugar in the morning, at noon we had a quart of soup, and half a quart at night.

But what the heck was the matter with the prosecuting attorney. He began chasing me again. This judge accused me of terrorism, of having selected a room in Marx-Engels street near the place where Stalin usually passed. The fact was that this room was given to me as a premium and consequently I could not have had anything to do with its selection. I was now accused of secret plotting. Here I recollected that Prato, an Italian and member of the G. P. U. worked with two Italian communists, Bertoni and Rabotti, arranging parties by the Italians embittered with their starving conditions, then noted their resentful statements and denounced them as counter-revolutionaries. I had been to one of these feed and drink parties. And so the judge had come to Odessa to make me acknowledge that the gun found in my room was really mine. I was on my way out of Russia, said the judge, why not sign? The torturer did not get my signature.

One night a captain and four soldiers of the N. K. V. D. took me to a train. "I have an order to shoot you at the least gesture of resistance," said the officer to me. At one of the stops where we had to change trains, the captain permitted me to write a post-card to my wife. (If she received it, it would be the first word from me in 8 months.)

When we arrived in Cheptovka, the boundary station, the thermometer was below zero and I was in rags. In jail, one of the prisoners gave me a blanket, the next day it was taken away from me. The report had been given that I was a fascist. After more humiliations and insults, I was searched for the last time and sent to Capitalist Poland.

Two minutes before reaching the station the guard handed me my passport. Upon my arrival in Poland the police took it away from me. Yet as a revolutionary,

I regret to say that the Polish policemen were much more courteous than their Russian colleagues. They gave me some clothes and took me to the Red Cross. I had a bath, massage, food, and what not. The following day the medical authorities found me able to travel, I was then escorted by the police to the Italian consul in Warsaw.

The Russian police had tricked me into declaring on my passport that I had asked to go to Italy. Luckily enough the Italian consul took my word and let me go where I wanted.

This is a truthful narration of what I experienced in Soviet Russia. I entered that country as an immigrant-communist full of hope, for I was convinced that a new life was opened for me in that first Proletarian State in the World. You have just read the downfall of all my dreams. My testimony may save some of you from going through such a similar experience, it should wrest your support from the cruel and despotic regime of Stalin.

Presented through Henry Poulaille (Translated by Jules Scarceriaux from "Le Libérateur").

INTER-NOS

This is the eleventh consecutive monthly issue that you are now holding in your hands. And it is a record indeed in the six years of our life: not to have had to skip a single issue! Every individual and Group that made this possible ought to feel proud, especially in view of the Government's unabated attempt to bring about the silencing of our voice.

The financial report this month, that follows these notes, shows to what extent the Groups are supporting MAN!. It is only the many individuals who are neglecting to contribute their share, at least to the extent of paying up their long overdue subscriptions. The Groups are doing their bit to aid in killing the deficit of MAN!, thereby assuring its regular appearance. The individual readers should follow this good example.

The preparations for publishing the pamphlet "Defenders of Freedom of Thought Throughout the Ages" are well under way. The funds needed have not yet been raised in full. Help us to materialize this project in order to publicize the persecution of MAN! and its editor wide and afar.

The response to the announcement of a nation-wide series of protest meetings against our persecution by the Government has met with considerable response, but not sufficiently to make possible a definite arrangement of the contemplated tour of comrade Marcus Graham. We urge every group and individual that can aid in the arranging of such protest meetings to write at once to: Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee, P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, California.

Our literature department has been neglected for a long time due to many technical reasons. Mainly for the reason of our having been sold out of all the literature we had on hand. For the present we are able to fill orders only on the literature that is being announced in this issue under the heading: For Your Library. As we succeed in obtaining additional literature, announcement of same will be made in MAN!.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

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| INCOME: Los Angeles Group: Two affairs—\$38.59; Gruppo Refrattari, Detroit: Two affairs (share)—\$25.00; Youth Group, Brooklyn—\$15.25; Two Groups of Youngstown, Ohio—\$6.00; Gruppo Libertario, Rochester—\$5.00; Radical Library, Phila.—\$2.00; Allentown Group—\$1.00; G. Borrow, newspaper sale—\$4.00; T. Di George, on list—\$4.00; Rand Book Store, newspaper sale—\$3.27; A. Simontacci—\$3.00; Chung Shih—\$2.25; Two Dollars Each: E. Vivas, newspaper sale, A. De Toffol, J. Piacentino, A. T. Poli; C. Michaels, London, England, newspaper sale—\$1.50; Newspaper sale, San Francisco—\$1.40; One Dollar Each: V. R. Thompson, Newspaper sale, Phila., H. Williams, J. Scarceriaux, Leo Moto, Charles Johnson, H. H. Cummins, C. Strange, H. Weinberg; Los Angeles, newspaper sale—\$.52; R. B. Garcia—\$.50. TOTAL—\$130.28. | |
| EXPENDITURES | \$108.35 |
| Deficit from previous issue | 72.87 |
| | \$181.22 |
| INCOME | \$130.28 |
| DEFICIT | \$50.94 |

MAN! Is On Sale At:

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Ganz Book Store, 2429 Brooklyn Avenue.
Modern Book Shop, 509½ W. 5th Street.
Newstand, Fifth and Main Street.
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